

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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A CALL FOR ABSOLUTISM. By Guy Aldred.

I have been invited to write a special article for THE DREADNOUGHT upon the conscription struggle. I must confess that I am a little puzzled how to write. In the first place, the war against war seems to me to be a struggle of paramount importance. It is a battle to which I have devoted my life's energies for some twelve years past, and one in which I have suffered nearly three years' rigorous imprisonment. I feel that it is an issue in which those of us who belong to the proletariat are really and truly brought to grips with the ruling class, and compelled to resist the merciless, cowardly despotism of our would-be masters with no better weapons than our naked understanding and fearless determination.

But I am not satisfied with the form which the struggle has taken. It has wrongly assumed an issue of conscience, where it should have maintained the loftier aspect of class struggle. And the war has been waged incompletely. It has wanted thoroughness. However many court-martials we have faced, our stand has still been wanting a little in vitality. The purpose of this contribution, therefore, is to appeal to my comrades, in and out of prison, to pursue the struggle with greater firmness and consistency, to challenge the Government without mercy and without hesitation or fear, to merge the whole conscription question in the war of the revolution.

My own attitude is well known and needs only slight repetition. I dislike the attitude of the men who are too good to fight under every and all circumstances. I am and have been always ready to fight for the revolution, if necessary. I believe in the final appeal to arms. But I will not be a dupe of capitalist society; I will not fight under any reactionary banner. I will go into war only on behalf of the blood-stained banner, only against the enemies of communist world liberty, only against the sum of capitalist interests. Under no circumstances will I serve under any capitalist banner, or surrender my reason blindly and stupidly to any form of militarism. The revolutionary army is not, and cannot be, a mind-destroying machine. The capitalist army can never be other than such a soulless mechanism. In this fact, and in this fact only, consists the true significance of our struggle against militarism.

It is not to be denied that our movement has been inconsistent. Far too much has been spoken and written about the degree of our resistance to militarism being a private matter. With no desire to persecute, or to seem intolerant, I reject utterly this miserable shibboleth. I say that it has excused every betrayal of our movement, that it has weakened considerably our power of resistance, and has no less powerfully contributed to the strength of the conscriptionist cause. The movement was weakened by this plea when some men appeared before Tribunals, instead of ignoring these stupid courts of the militarist inquisition. It was weakened again when the majority of the men in prison went on the Home Office scheme and continued, as soon as arrested, to go upon this penal scheme. It was weakened when these men were sympathised with and assisted in pleading for miserable reforms. The duty of the movement outside was to show them no sympathy in so mean a struggle, but to insist that, having accepted the scheme, they should proclaim a strike, return to prison, and continue

to strike in prison. The conscience fetish was trotted out where the stern proclamation should have been: "Whoso would be free, himself must strike the blow."

There is no need to go into the details of our work and discipline strike at Wandsworth. A poor minority—never more than thirty, and sometimes less than twenty—deprived of exercise and books, letters and visits, in consequence of our refusal to work and to obey prison discipline, and lodged in the basement for some time, we yet reduced the prison system to a farce. For months closely confined to cell, we organised lectures, concerts, and discussions. We proclaimed boldly from prison windows our Bolshevik principles and our allegiance to the red flag. We removed spy glasses and gas-box glasses so as to communicate with each other. We turned down all compromise offers and demanded either the full respect due to political prisoners or unconditional release.

The authorities could not punish us, for our defiance was beyond all punishment. They could not give us punishment diet for we refused it. Matters got to a standstill. We worked for a general strike of all C.O.s in prison. But we failed to achieve our aim. From outside, bogus rumours were reaching the prison of early release. These rumours were believed. Then stupid resolutions were passed by N.C.F. leaders against striking. With all due respect to the authors of such nonsense, we submit that if it was right for men to strike at Wakefield, it was equally right for us to strike in an ordinary prison. I submit, also, that it was a gross interference with the right of conscience, a gross betrayal of men who were being broken on the wheels of the prison system, for outsiders to interfere and to condemn the strike in prison. I would add that men who work in prison, who accept association exercise, &c., submit to prison rules, and see their fellows meanly punished, are little more than "Home Office schemers." They are resisting industrial conscription, but basely submitting to it. They are resisting militarism, but compromising with it. I call upon the men in prison to abandon this attitude of supine inconsistency. I call upon them to be loyal to conscience boldly and thoroughly and to cease to temporise. I call upon them to give up every appearance of slavery—and to strike against work and discipline. Resistance to industrial conscription is not a private, but a public matter. As a public issue it must be pursued publicly and solidly. There must be no scabbing for conscience sake.

As I have said, thanks to the attitude assumed without the prison, there has been no general strike in prison. Matters at Wandsworth reached a deadlock. Then fourteen of the work-and-discipline strikers resolved to play their last card. They proclaimed a hunger strike, either for full recognition as political prisoners, or else for release. The first was refused and after six to seven days' hunger strike they were released under the Cat and Mouse Act. Five other men—not strikers—joined them in the work, discipline, and hunger strike and have been released similarly.

I write these lines as one of the fourteen men mentioned above. After over two and a half years' actual imprisonment with hard labour, after several months' close confinement, with a threat of early re-arrest hanging over my head,

I proclaim my intention to continue my strike should I return to prison. I proclaim my loyalty to Bolshevism and the International. I call upon all comrades in prison to join me in the work and discipline strike.

Finally, I appeal to the workers outside. We men who have suffered for conscience sake are fighting the workers' battle. We are the victims in the struggle. Do you intend to support us? And when are you going to strike to fetch us out? When are you going to give up resolutions for revolution? How much longer are we to remain betrayed? Inside and outside prison we have one hope—that comrades will at last become stern, complete absolutists.

A MENACE TO BRITISH WORKERS.

HOW THE BUSINESS GOVERNMENT WORKS IN BRITAIN, INDIA, AND BURMA.

Most of the national factories built during the war because the nation could do things more efficiently than was possible to private capitalism, are being sold, either by private treaty or public auction. The remainder will be used for munitions, repairs, storage, and so on. The workers at Waddon National Air-craft Factory, Croydon, have been holding mass meetings of protest, the shop stewards have drawn up a scheme for using the factory for peace work under workshop control management. The Government has, of course, refused to assent to the proposal—2,000 workers have been dismissed, 700 alone remain. The Ministry has written to the workers' representatives that the remaining workers will be kept on as long as possible, and the factory will be used for salvage. But the sale of the factory by auction will take place this week. The workers say they will be at the sale to make their protest. The displaced workers now occupy a piteous position, their economic power is broken. During the war, they greatly improved their position, because they were needed. Now, needed no longer, they appeal in vain to the Government, to Members of Parliament, and even to Executive Councils of Trade Unions.

The government is a business government; it is standing by the interests of business men; it refuses to compete with them in business now that the war emergency is over. The workers must learn the lesson; they must appeal to their fellow workers who are still in industry to help them at this juncture. Not only do business governments refuse to compete with business men; they also help them.

WHAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DOES FOR THE CAPITALIST.

The Mining World and Engineering Record of November 23rd, in reporting the annual meeting of the Burma Corporation, a big mining and zinc smelting company, throws an interesting light on what the government of India is doing for capitalism in India and especially for the Burma Corporation. The Government's friendly help is referred to as "a new and welcome feature in industrial development." Mr. F. A. Govett, who moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, Sir Trevredyn R. Wynne, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., attributed the Government's support, not simply to the fact that the Chairman had been an Indian official, but to his "personal influence." Three years before the Company had been "at logger-heads" with the Government.

The rich and flourishing Burma Corporation during the war has greatly increased its profits. The Chairman cheerfully stated, in regard to the lead produced by the company: "I feel fairly confident that, with our cheap labour, high grade ores, and other advantages, it will always be possible for us to produce this commodity at less cost than our competitors." With regard to zinc

(continued on page 1200).

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

There is nothing so much that the Bellow Press hates as the "wicked foreigner." You will remember, Henry, that at the time of the air raids it was always the Alien who was the first to dodge into the funk holes. It was the Alien who went off to Maidenheadsky. It was the Alien who dodged the Military Service Acts, who signalled to Zeppelins from a roof with a cheap electric torch. That speaks a great deal for the sharp eyes of Zeppelin crews three miles up. And if you notice, it was exactly at the time of some new restriction, some new chain that fettered you, that the Alien bogey took the scare headlines in the press.

All pacifist literature was of course printed or at least financed by the Alien. Some sleuthhound of the Bellow Press discovered that there were certain leaflets being printed by an Alien with the sinister name of ———. This was mere camouflage, as the sleuth discovered, to hide the even more sinister name of ———. So forthwith So and So's printing shop was visited by gallant men in plain clothes who call themselves members of the Criminal Investigation Department, and the Alien was put in a nice cool cell. There was no charge made out, no warrant issued. In a certain case, after a few days in prison, the prisoner was rushed in a boat to Dutch territory and left there. Incidentally he left his wife and children behind him, but that is a mere detail. It is also of no consequence that they were born in this enlightened and glorious land where everybody is free.

There was also a gentleman who edited a periodical called *The Workers' Friend*. It was printed in Yiddish, which is of itself a crime, and what was worse, it opposed the extension of the Military Service Acts to the Alien In Our Midst. So off to the Tower with Rocker. Or, rather, I should say, to Alexandra Palace. Our secret service men discovered a short time after that the said Rocker had a son, so he was sent to join his father. The C.I.D. has some feelings. They also discovered that Rocker had a wife and she was immediately put out of "harm's way." It is certainly no joke being

an Alien. Or his son. Or his wife. It will be a warning to Aliens to dispense with a wife, not to say a son.

This Rocker was—hush!—a German; and after he had been a couple of years revelling in luxury at the Alexandra Palace, the Home Office thought he might feel homesick, so they sent him off to Germany. Strangely enough the Huns didn't want any dangerous agitators, so they left him in Holland. So there he is.

You must not imagine, Henry, that any charge was made against these Aliens. It would be sheer waste of time, and it was kinder to put them away without worrying them with a trial. The C.I.D. isn't out to judge whether a man is guilty or not. It is there to put him out of harm's way.

But Keeley and the Rockers are not the only Aliens interned. There are, I believe, thousands of them. There are, strange to say, even some hundreds of British subjects in internment camps. And they don't know what they are there for. Some of them escaped once in order to bring their cases into Court. But they were put back safely, and tied up with a bit of string perhaps to keep them safer.

There are also Irish prisoners there: but we may trust the Irish to look after themselves. They don't worry. They consider themselves prisoners of war and smash up the prison furniture accordingly.

Then there are the Wheeldons. You remember the great Lloyd George poison plot, Henry, so deftly discovered by Alec Gordon. That gentleman was missing when evidence was called but he sent in his discoveries and a shrewd and impartial magistrate accepted his "evidence" as more than Gospel truth. The great plot was to the effect that the Wheeldons had purchased poison for Lloyd George. It was either to be driven into his skull (which has always struck me as being tolerably thick) or into his heel by putting it on a nail inside his boot. How they were to get hold of Lloyd George and put the needle in his noodle gets me. But I presume they would call on him at Downing Street and saying, "Smile and look

pleasant, please," proceed to hammer the poisoned needle into his pate. The Hon. Gent. would doubtless oblige.

However, a truce to these flippant remarks. I don't doubt, Henry, you regard the Alien Question as a grave question. Perhaps you are even in favour of the "Intern them all" stunt. Who are "them all"? There is, let me remind you, a gentleman of the name of Windsor who changed his name from Wettin or Guelph. There is Lord Mountbatten who was once Prince Henry of Battenberg. And there is a Queen who was Princess May of Teck. Neither Teck nor Battenberg are in Britain, let me tell you. Neither is Saxe-Coburg, where Mr. Windsor's grandfather came from. Are you going to intern these? And Lord Milner, who was born at Bonn, which is *not* in Cumberland? And Lord Cave whose relation married a "Hun"? And the Rothschilds, Sassoons, Cassels, good Britishers all?

Henry, there isn't one of us but has a strain of foreign blood. Our aristocracy used to boast of their Norman blood even. From William the Norman down to the House of Hanover (now Windsor) how much of pure English blood is there?

It is not blood that counts, Henry. It is class. If you went on a deputation to see Lloyd George, he might tell you to call another time when he wasn't so busy meeting a secret emissary from Berlin (via Holland or Switzerland). Your boss doesn't show you round his works, but when a Krupp came to England before the war, he was shown right royally round at Armstrong's the gunmakers, or was it Cammel Laird? Or maybe it was that firm with the good old English name of Brunner Mond? There's class for you!

Well, Henry, what are you going to do about it? Are you going to walk round mighty fierce and proud with the Alien bee in your bonnet? Or are you going to wake up to the fact that the interned Aliens are of your class and shoulder to shoulder with the German and Russian workers make your fight against the system of the eternal grind that keeps you tied to workshop, mine, or field for ever and ever amen?

CRIMINAL TRIBES OF INDIA.

All the World, the Salvation Army's monthly review of its work, has been sent to us. It contains an article by Major Charles McKenzie on the 'Criminal Tribes of South India.' These people, he says, are "jungle folk, remnants of aboriginal kingdoms, who led a free life in the open country; the sole possessors of ancient India." Ancient India having been stolen from them, and faced with deprivations, the result of what Major McKenzie calls "the onward march of the new civilisation," these people have resorted to petty thefts to eke out their subsistence. They are so poor that some of them have actually regarded imprisonment as a respite from hunger; a woman whose husband had gone to jail explained to the Major: "It is all very well for him, he gets his food and clothes, and has a gay time, but what about me?" Prison not having stamped out thefts, the Indian Government a few years ago passed an Act to restrict the movements of certain tribes who were declared "criminal," and to force them into settlements which they might not leave without a written permit, and where work would be found for them. Be it noted that any one born in these tribes is on that account merely classed as a criminal, without any crime having been proved. This in the free British Empire!

The Salvation Army came forward to manage these penal colonies, called settlements, and in the Madras Presidency alone it has 4,000 of these people under its control. It is strange that the Army did not devote itself to converting

the wealthy Imperialists who, ignoring the fact that empires are only built up by large-scale thefts, are retaining the country of these people, draining wealth from it, and causing them to live in such poverty that they are induced to eke out an existence by petty theft. Major McKenzie admits that these tribes did not steal twenty-five or thirty years ago. He says that the influence of "Christian life" in the settlements is now transforming them, curing them of their thievish habits. Is it not rather the crushing influence of forced captivity which is breaking their spirit? The Major says the work of the Salvation Army is not easy and explains:—

"A stone quarry furnishes work at one of our places. A man was making a rather bad 'fist' of breaking stone and the Officer coming around offered to show him how to do it to better advantage, and worked for the man's instruction for five minutes, then, handing him back the hammer, said: 'that's the way to do it.' 'Oh yes, that is all very well for five minutes, but you could not keep it up all day,' was the reply.

A reply very aptly made in our opinion.

It is horrible that such a system is being perpetrated under the guise of religion, and that an organisation professing to deal only with the spiritual life, and to devote itself especially to the needs of the poor and lowly, should aid in the administration of a coercive law imposed by a powerful outside Government upon the natives of the land! We suppose the Salvation Army does not realise what it is doing.

THE DEMANDS OF THE LIEBKNECHT PARTY.

Amsterdam, December 15th.—A Berlin telegram to the *Handelsblad* says that the Spartacus Group of Socialists has drawn up the following programme:—

1. Immediate steps for the safeguarding of the revolution.
2. The disarmament of all the police forces, officers, non-proletarian soldiers, and all members of the ruling classes.
3. The confiscation by the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of all arms, munitions and armament works.
4. The arming of all the grown-up male proletarian population, and the formation of a Workers' Militia.
5. The formation of a proletarian Red Guard.
6. The abolition of all officers and non-commissioned officers.
7. The removal of all military officers from the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.
8. The replacement of all the political organs and authorities of the former régime by trusted representatives of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.
9. The abolition of all parliaments and municipal and other councils, and the election of a Central Council, which will elect and control the Executive Council.
10. The cancellation of all State and other public debts, including War Loans, down to a certain fixed limit of subscriptions.
11. The expropriation of all landed estates, banks, coal mines and large industrial works.
12. The confiscation of all fortunes above a certain fixed amount.
13. The Spartacists further demand the present society consists of producers and parasites—that is, workmen and capitalists. Internationalists and capitalists. International capitalists made this war and will always make wars; therefore, abolish the capitalist. All executive power to the producers, who alone may vote.

THE FIGHT AGAINST MILITARISM.

During the war this country has been militarised. Conscription has been established in Britain. The proposals for the League of Nations which General Smuts has made with the approval of the Government suggest the setting up in each country of "militia or volunteers, whose numbers and training shall, after expert inquiry, be fixed by the Council of the League." This, we think, will mean some form of compulsory service.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., recently disclosed a letter sent from one general at the War Office to another, in which was outlined a scheme of compulsory military service, including:—

- (a) Four years' school training.
- (b) One year's service from the first October in which the man is 19.
- (c) Fifteen days' training for three years up to 30.
- (d) Seven days' training for three years up to 40.

Mr. Lloyd George denied that this was the Government's scheme, but he did not state that the Government has no scheme. The general said:—

"The Government will not touch this at any rate till after the General Election and until the League of Nations nonsense has been discussed at the Peace Conference."

Soldiers are now Industrial Conscripts.

Soldiers who enlisted or were conscribed for the war period, or who enlisted for a six years' term prior to the war, are still held in the army and only released on the application of an employer of labour. When the soldiers went to the war they were assured that their jobs would be given back to them on their return; now, instead of being in a position to insist that the pledge shall be kept, some are reduced to pleading with employers to secure their release, and even then subject to recall. Not only is it sought thus to rob the soldier of independence in regard to his choice of work, but when he leaves the Army he may be told to sign this form, under which, should he leave the employer who got him out of the Army, he must notify the military authorities, and, since it is stated that he may be recalled to his regiment at any time, he may always suspect that to leave his employment may mean his recall:—

(Soldier's Name and Rank filled in by War Office.)
Army Form Z 30 (Soldier).

From Rank
To the Secretary, War Office (Mobilisation).

In consideration of my early release from military duties, I undertake to accept work of immediate importance as

(Description of employment.)

with
(Name of employer.)

of
(Address of employer.)

to commence work immediately, and I understand and agree that after my release from such military duties I shall not be entitled to any Army Pay, Allowance, or Gratuities for any period beyond that of 28 days immediately subsequent to my release, and that no period after the expiration of such 28 days shall reckon as service towards any gratuity. I also understand that I am liable to recall to military duty at any time and that I am bound to notify any change of employment or address to

Unit
Rank Regtl. No.

Theatre of War or Command
Trade or Calling

Industrial Group No.
Occupation Code No.

Nearest Station to Place of Employment.

I have [not] been officially reported a casualty.

Dated this day of 191 ..

Signature of Soldier

Signature of O.C. Unit

Must soldiers strike in order to secure leave, better conditions, the temporary withdrawal of orders to proceed overseas, and a larger demobilisation. And most of the men are not being

discharged. Men are still being told to sign this objectionable form, which places them in a most abjectly degrading and slave-like position.

How Industrial Conscription Works.

During the war the fact that a man might be called to the Army if he left his employment, either voluntarily or involuntarily, proved a serious deterrent to both industrial and political activities: "Oh, you have to be very careful in these days," was a commonly-heard phrase when grievances were made the subject of private grumbles, instead of being brought out into the open and dealt with by drastic action. This is the constant, quiet, insidious, industrial influence of conscription. In times of crisis it is used by the employing class as a formidable striking force. Colonel Sir Augustus Fitz-George at the Service Club on August 26th, 1915, declared that compulsory service was necessary because "the people were getting out of hand." It is well known that in the French railway strike of 1916, and the Spanish railway strike of 1916, the strikers were informed that, as conscripts, they were soldiers, and as soldiers they must obey military orders to return to their work on the railways, or be punished as soldiers for disobedience to military law. More than once during the war conscription has been used in this country to kill industrial disputes. Workers on strike in Dundee were reported by their employer to the military authorities and called up under the Military Service Act. In Wales soldiers were sent to blackleg railway men on strike.

Those who fought against it.

Labour could have prevented the working of conscription by united industrial action against its collective or individual enforcement. By united industrial action Labour could get it forever abolished. But Labour has taken no united action against conscription; it has contented itself with passing resolutions, and has left the real fight for liberty to individuals. Individuals who undertake to fight great national and international injustices are victimised, even martyred; but by their efforts, they at last open the eyes of the masses to the need for action, and when the masses take action the fight is won.

Six thousand men took up the fight against conscription, and are still carrying on the hard and painful struggle. Three thousand, five hundred of these men have accepted alternative punishment in penal settlements under the Home Office Scheme. One thousand, five hundred men are still in prison.

Those who are Acting Against Conscription.

These men are all fighting military conscription, but the fight of the 1,500 "absolutists" in prison is actually, for practical purposes, still more a fight against industrial than against military conscription. They could all secure their release from prison if they were prepared to accept employment under industrial conscription. The authorities tried to overcome their refusal to accept industrial conscription by transferring them to Wakefield, where the rule of perpetual silence was abolished, a letter and a half-hour visit each week, books, paper, pencil, better food, and easier conditions were provided, on condition that the C.O.s would work under a scheme of industrial conscription. The men unhesitatingly rejected the offer, struck work, and returned to close solitary confinement and other hardships in prison.

Again we must remind our readers that the lonely and hard fight of the conscientious objectors still continues. Many people have heard, though too few have realised it, that in the early days the C.O.s were bullied and ill-treated. How many people vividly realise that a series of brutalities has continued steadily until this day? We had cases in which to errorise Phillip Key into subjection an officer at Winal Down Camp, Winchester, on March 1st, 1917, came with a corporal to his

bed at 11 P.M. and stabbed him in three places with a bayonet; and that of James Brightmore, who after serving two terms of imprisonment, was put in a 10-foot pit at Cleethorpe Camp in June, 1917. At the bottom of the pit was water and Brightmore had to stand all day on four strips of wood. Jack Grey at Hornsea, in May, 1917, after serving a sentence at Wormwood Scrubs, had a live bomb with the pin removed thrown at his feet. He was also flung into a filthy pond eight or nine times in succession and dragged out by a rope tied tightly round his abdomen.

Sentenced to be shot.

From their own sworn statements we learn that A. P. Cathal, after working on the Home Office Scheme and serving three sentences of imprisonment, was sent to France, and after twenty-one days' close confinement in a small cell, handcuffed, leg ironed, and fed on biscuits and water, was sentenced "to be shot at dawn." That night an N.C.O. told him that he could yet escape if he would obey orders. Yet he refused. This hero has been court martialled six times and is now in Shrewsbury Prison.

Tied to Rifle Butt in Egypt.

W. G. Tyrrell in March, 1917, was sent to France and at Bapaume, where for two hours on three days out of four he was tied to a post, which was "nearly always within range of shell fire." James Baldry Saunders was sent both to Egypt and France.

Does someone say it is childish and meaningless to smash cell windows, and that those who behave so absurdly deserve what they get and cannot be taken seriously? Our reply is that those who say this do not understand the psychology of the prisoner, the mental atmosphere produced by prison life. Make a human being utterly helpless, deprive him (or her) of every right, surround him with a petty, monotonous routine of cell cleaning and useless prison tasks, confine his sphere of vision and mental activities within a narrow prison cell. In prison there is not the long quietude of which those who have never been prisoners dream, but a din of heavy shoes clattering on stone floors, of buckets and utensils banging, of loud words of command and cries of drunken prisoners. In this mad-house environment, pettily, irksomely offensive, heavy with useless labour and wasted hours, prisoners are goaded to protest. The only protest they can make is the feeble protest of destruction—to destroy either the prison furniture or themselves.

These lads, who are suffering, losing their sense of proportion, perhaps, as all prisoners do, cling only to the thought that they suffer for a noble purpose, a thought that is strong in its power to preserve sanity, health, and life itself.

Family hardship.

The sufferings of these prisoners affect also their families, and the troubles of their families react again on the men in prison.

James, Tom, and Peter Allen, who had been in prison over two years, were released to attend their mother's funeral in October, 1918, and again to attend their sister's funeral in November. When their leave expired they were all too ill to return to prison. Tom and Peter Allen both died of pneumonia within the week. Seven hundred people living near by petitioned for the release of James Allen, but he is back in Durham Prison.

Percy Brooks of Norwich has been in prison for the greater part of two and a half years. In December, 1918, his father had a mental breakdown. Percy's sister appealed for his release, as the doctor thought that his return might restore their father's mental balance; another brother was away marching into Germany, and Miss Brooks wrote: "The youngest is no use to us in this domestic trouble, as he is discharged from the Army suffering

(continued on page 1202).

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THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL WAR.

From the outbreak of war no man stood out so conspicuously as its opponent as brave Karl Liebknecht. When the German autocracy was at the height of its military power his attacks upon it were unflinching. He was cast into prison but remained undeterred. He was eulogised by the Allied press, which has since villified him, because his later attacks upon the capitalist system, instead of tending merely to weaken Germany's effort in the war with Allied Capitalism, have threatened to overthrow German Capitalism altogether. The actual details of his death are still unknown here. His brother is right in demanding that a non-military inquiry should be held. But the details are of lesser importance, the outstanding truth is that he has died in what he describes as the International Civil War for Socialism.

We cherish a faint hope that Rosa Luxemburg still lives, since it is reported that her body has disappeared.

The deaths of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, if they are really dead, will not mean the end of Spartacus. Already, on Saturday, January 18th, when the news reached Leipzig, Reuter reports that the workers in several factories went on strike:—

"Processions marched through the streets. All the bourgeois papers were prevented from appearing, and leaflets of the Democratic and German National People's party were burned publicly on the Augustusplatz. Bonfires were blazing from midday until late in the evening. An excited crowd invaded the offices of the Democratic party, and destroyed propaganda material. Several soldiers were stripped of their cockades and officers of their epaulettes."

The reported death of these two widely-known Socialists should arouse to the existence of the International Civil War any Socialists and workers whose thoughts still turn with hope to the Peace Conference, that much advertised temple of pretence.

The Conference Rules now published in full, prove clearly that it is merely a conference of the ruling politicians of the five Great Powers: Britain, France, Italy, America, and Japan. Representatives of other nations, even of "Little Belgium," will merely be allowed to lay their views before these autocrats. The Conference will be to all intents and purposes a secret one, for says Rule 8:—

"The publicity of the proceedings shall be ensured by Official Communiqués prepared by the secretariat to be made public. In case of disagreement as to the drafting of these communiqués shall be referred to the principal plenipotentiaries or their representatives."

Therefore what the ruling politicians desire to say about the proceedings of the Conference, is to be said and nothing more.

President Wilson's first point, be it remembered, was:—

"Open Covenants of peace openly arrived at after which there shall be no private international

understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

The Allied attack on Socialist Russia and America's participation in that attack long since exposed the *Fourteen Points* as but an empty shell without a kernel. The act of shutting the smaller countries out from the decisive Conference has again shown that the fourteen points though accepted by the Allies "in principle" are flouted in practice. We expect to see the Conference coldly and deliberately violate by its decisions every point in turn. No Capitalist programme can bring peace to the world; the news of every day proves it. The Allies quarrel amongst themselves for concessions, and the unrest of the workers and their determination to secure Socialism is ever growing. *The Times* reports the growth of Bolshevism in the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, which the Allies have formed as a special bulwark to their power. Workers and Soldiers' Councils have been set up in the Argentine Republic. In India has occurred the largest strike ever known there; 100,000 Bombay mill hands are out demanding an increased bonus, and have been fired on by the military. From America comes news that there is to be a general strike to secure the release of Mooney and Billings, the victims of the anti-trade union "frame up case." In this country the engineers and miners are in a ferment, the police are threatening to strike, the soldiers and sailors remain dissatisfied. The opposition of the soldiers and sailors has checked the Government's aggressive plans in Russia; though do not forget that fighting still continues there and in regions where the temperature is 40 degrees below zero, and that anti-Bolshevik successes are being claimed in the Baltic provinces. The position is serious, do not overlook that.

The Times' forecast of the Government's proposals concerning its pledge (the so-called "Treasury Agreement") to restore pre-war trade union conditions, amounts, in our opinion, to a breach of faith. Says *The Times*:—

"The main principle underlying the scheme of the Bill is that pre-war practices should be restored, not automatically and universally by a sweeping legislative mandate, but whenever and wherever there is a demand from the workpeople for their restoration. Undoubtedly, there will be some practices which cannot possibly be resumed. There are others, notably those which relate to the manning of machines, the employment of women, and the reservation of certain operations for certain grades of workmen, which cannot be restored consistently with the development of production, or with the interests of many thousands of workers. The proposals of the Government are therefore based on the rule that a definite demand by a majority of the workers, who in pre-war days maintained a given practice, must precede its restoration."

This means, in our opinion, that the workers will have to fight the battle for every safeguard anew in every case, and will be put to almost, if not quite, as much trouble and expense as though the Treasury Agreement in question had never existed before. Indeed, if they are to argue their case before the Courts or negotiate with Government officials, they will probably do better to ignore the promises made to them under the Treasury Agreement and to conduct the fight with the employer in their own way. Undoubtedly the Government is steering straight for Labour troubles.

The Sinn Fein Parliament is now assembled. Ireland is self-determined, a miracle of faith and solidarity has been accomplished. Our question to the British Government and to the British Army is: "Why not let Ireland alone?"

The attempt of the extreme Royalist reaction in Portugal to restore the monarchy and place the ex-King Manoel on the throne, will probably fail. But it may stir up a genuine peoples' revolution, which will establish not a capitalist, but an industrial republic.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

A Menace to British Workers—cont. from front page.

the Chairman said: "In my opinion this Corporation might reasonably claim the same treatment which has been given to Australia, namely, the purchase by Government of our zinc concentrates output for a number of years." This has not yet been arranged, but the Government has been so obliging in regard to another project started by the Corporation that no doubt the Government will again be pliant.

Being so happily provided with cheap labour in Burma, the Corporation was looking out for a place in which its Burma zinc could be smelted with profit. It decided to go to India, with its freedom from labour troubles. Says Sir Trevredyn: "The Indian workman of the good class which can be obtained, can be trained to do any work required of him...having once mastered his job, he works at it like a machine, however monotonous the work may be...Previous to the Tata Steel Works at Sakchi, the manufacture of high class and reliable steel in large tonnage in India was unknown. When these steel works were first started a very large contingent of white-trained labour was employed; to-day this white contingent has been mainly replaced by Indian labour..."

At this Tata steel works the Burma zinc would find a ready sale, therefore to smelt it near by will be profitable, argued Sir Trevredyn, "particularly when it is recollected that Indian conditions, especially labour, lead one to think that it will be possible to make spelter in India at a cheaper cost than in other countries. Sir Trevredyn saw no reason why the Burma company should not sell some of its zinc to the new smelting works now being erected in England, except that the company would probably find it more profitable to do the smelting itself in India and to sell its products to the Tata Works there. The Tata Works buying cheap spelter from the Burma Corporation, and having the cheap docile Indian workers at its disposal, would thus produce iron and steel more cheaply than it can be produced in England. That seems to indicate the possibility of unemployment for British workers; but Mr. Hodge and his colleagues are so busy looking for "the German menace" that they cannot see the menace of Indian and Burmese sweated labour. The British workers do not see the menace, or they would not glory in the size of our Empire: they would rather demand freedom for the peoples held in subjection in order that they, too, may develop "Labour troubles."

The British Government probably understands the matter quite as well as does the Burma Corporation, and it is determined to help the Corporation. It has granted the Corporation a new lease for 30 years, the old lease had 18 years to run. Under the new lease the royalties payable to the Government have been reduced. The royalty used to be 2½ per cent on the saleable value at the pit's mouth; it will now be 2½ per cent on 30 per cent of its metallic value, "a considerable concession." A very strange concession indeed for a Government to make when a costly war has to be paid for and whilst necessary foods are taxed to pay for that war. Moreover, the area of the old lease was only 38 square miles; the new lease will cover 10 square miles. The Government has also offered the company a loan of £200,000 and the company hopes to get it free of interest during construction, and the company is to have concessions in regard to railway freight. Again an extraordinary concession when railway fares in this country are up by 50 per cent!

The Government in Burma has been equally obliging to this company. It charged the company only half the usual rates of royalty on timber and wood, and helped it to buy coke "at a price" it "could afford to pay" and to obtain water rights from a local chieftain free for five years at £1,000 for the next five years, and £2,000 afterwards. Incidentally, Trevredyn made clear that another private company is greatly aided by the Burma Government; the Government owns the railways, but leases them to a company which, of course, makes profit by them and the Government actually provided the railway company with money to build a branch line there.

It therefore appears that these capitalists who boss the workers are sometimes not capitalists at all, for the Government is actually providing them with their capital!

In brief the position is this: employers in Burma, with the aid of cheap labour and Government loans and concessions, can produce lead and zinc more cheaply than employers operating in Europe. Employees in India with the aid of cheap labour and Government loans and concessions, can produce iron and steel more cheaply than it can be done in Europe! European workers must either get Socialism, join the unemployed, or come down to the Indian and Burmese standard of living.

ROSA LUXEMBURG. By a Polish Socialist.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in Plock (Russian Poland) in a Jewish middle-class family. A student of Karl Marx, she remained an uncompromising Marxist, believing that the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth can only be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1893 she founded, together with Warski, the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, of which she remained the leader, its heart and soul. Persecuted by the Russian authorities, she went to Germany, where she edited the Polish periodical papers—*Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Flag) and the *Pzegląd Socjal-Demokratyczny* (Social Democratic Review)—which were smuggled over the frontier and distributed in Poland. At the same time she was one of the leaders of the German Socialist Party in association with Ledebour and Kautski.

For her political activity and publications in Germany she was expelled from the country as an undesirable foreigner, when she contracted a fictitious marriage with a German, in order to obtain German citizenship, which enabled her to continue her political leadership both in Germany and Poland.

At the outbreak of the revolution in Poland in 1905-1906 she returned to Warsaw, where she worked for the ideals of the revolution until she was imprisoned in Warsaw. She was kept in prison for several months until the German

Government, under the pressure of German Socialists, demanded her release.

Then, returning to Germany, she continued her untiring propaganda in Germany, Poland, and Lithuania. Before the outbreak of the war she was sentenced to imprisonment in Germany for publishing revelations concerning ill treatment of soldiers in the German army. She was an uncompromising opponent of the war, and on leaving prison she continued her anti-war propaganda and was again imprisoned.

She exercised an enormous influence by her strong personality, her logical rhetoric, her iron will, and untiring activity.

Hers was a great personality. Although living abroad she was the driving power of the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania.

She is now between 50 and 55. She was physically most unattractive—crippled and abnormally short. Her voice was clear, strong, decided; she impressed her audience. She was strongly opposed to terroristic acts. I learn that she fainted in Warsaw when during the revolution her friends brought to her the red flag stained with blood.

Rosa Luxemburg was a delegate to all the International Congresses. I heard her in 1912, discussing with August Bebel.

"HANDS OFF RUSSIA" CONFERENCE.

JANUARY 18th, 1919.

The Conference met in the Memorial Hall under the sorrowful news that Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht had been killed.

Sermus played for them the Russian Revolutionary Funeral March. "You have not yet a revolutionary funeral march in this country," he told us, "because you are not yet ready to give your lives for the people's revolution."

The grey light of the winter's morning shone feebly through the stained-glass windows. The delegates stood with bowed heads listening to the sad violin. Above us, in the centre of the window, stands great John Milton. His beautiful pale face, through which the outer light comes to us, seems in its look of anxious pain and striving, to give a visible form to the thoughts agitating us all, down here in the gloom.

Together we sing 'The International,' making it, not a song of joy, as it sometimes is, but the cry of peoples bound by a common sorrow; then 'The Red Flag,' with a new realisation that it is red because it is dyed with heroic blood.

So to the agenda, with its cold, practical details, carrying with them the need to face facts and overcome them.

W. F. Watson's opening speech is made to the converted. All here cherish the Russian Revolution, which is a part of the world revolution, with an affection deeper than they have hitherto been capable of giving to any impersonal object.

But what is to be done? Not mere hopes and desires; but deeds are necessary. The discussion centres round three different policies, which merge and emerge, as they are pushed in this or that direction. All favour direct industrial action; some are for fixing now the date of a general strike to stop the Allied attack on Socialist Russia. Some urge that the organisation capable of carrying out such a strike is not yet in being, that the workers in sufficient numbers are not yet prepared; they urge postponement of the strike project to a further conference, and, in the meantime, the building up of a powerful organisation. Others do not believe that a "Hands Off Russia" strike will ever be started, and insist that the workers will only strike on economic questions immediately affecting them. But, they say, if a great strike should arise and the situation be ripe, the workers could be induced to add "Hands Off

Russia," even the British Revolution itself, to their economic demands. Finally, the following resolution is adopted and a committee of fifteen persons elected to carry it into effect:—

"This rank and file Conference of delegates from British and Irish Socialist and Labour organisations hereby resolves to carry on an active agitation upon every field of activity to solidify the Labour Movement in Great Britain, for the purpose of declaring a general strike at a forthcoming conference, to be held unless, before that date, the unconditional cessation of Allied intervention in Russia, either directly by force of arms, or indirectly by an economic blockade, by supplying arms, money or other sinister means to the internal opponents of the Bolshevik administration, shall have been officially announced; and to continue the strike and agitation, until the desired announcement shall have been made, and until we are satisfied of the truth of the announcement, and until the Allied attacks on the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Germany are stopped, the blockade raised, and the Allied troops withdrawn.

THE MASS MEETING.

In the evening the large Memorial Hall was thronged and two smaller halls failed to accommodate the overflowing audience.

At all the big meetings held in London recently the red flaggers in the audience have heckled the speakers, and the speakers have been scolded by the audience. But this was a demonstration of the rank and file; the audience and speakers were at one. It was rumoured that anti-Socialist jingoes were coming to disturb the meeting, but only one interrupter put in an appearance.

A Socialist Republic and the coming of the world Socialist Revolution were the ideas which dominated the gathering. When W. F. Watson said that he had been asked that the movement should not confine itself to revolutionary engineers, but should embrace all industrial workers, people cried: "And the soldiers." A soldier rose in the gallery and said: "A little bit of chalk, comrades; with a little bit of chalk you can start the revolution. That's how we organised our strike at Brockley Park. We chalked things up on the walls of the barracks. The soldiers will be with you when the revolution comes!" "And don't forget the police,"

someone shouted. "Don't forget the blue bottles at the Albert Hall to-morrow."

The meeting was preceded by a fine musical performance, given by Cedar Paul, Muriel Davenport, and Edward Sermus, but Sermus said: "I never hated my playing as I do to-night, for whilst you are here enjoying nice music, your sons are dying amid the far and strange snowfields of Russia, and for the people's revolution our comrades are laying down their lives."

Yes, there was poignant bitterness in the thought that whilst we were there meeting in the Memorial Hall, having advanced no further than the passing of resolutions, the reactionary Government of our country is attacking the Socialist Revolution in Russia and Germany. It is better to give one's life, like Liebknecht and Luxemburg, in the people's revolution, than to lose it in waiting for a revolution that never comes. But it will come. An assurance of that fact was given us by an Irish comrade, Desmond Ryan, who told us that he recognised in that meeting the same spirit that he knew in Ireland. He recalled to our memory the fact that at the outbreak of the war, Ireland too was swept by jingoism and reaction. To-day Ireland is changed, and it is to Russia that the people look with sympathetic understanding and desire to learn.

THE POLICE UNION.

A great mass meeting of police was held at the Albert Hall on January 19th. The police demand:—

Full and frank recognition of the union.
Amendment of the Police (Pensions) Act, 1918.
Immediate and substantial wage increases.
Relief from "autocratic" action of Chief Constables.

An inquiry before January 27th into the dismissal of Sergeants Belson and Davis and P.C. Miles, of the Midland Railway Police.

The pledges in regard to pension made at the settlement of the late strike have not been kept and another strike may take place.

MINERS AND ENGINEERS.

Miners are demanding a 30 hour week. Engineers are striking for a 40 hour week. All trades should fall into line.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

PUBLIC MEETING,

400, OLD FORD ROAD,

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2nd 7 p.m.

Speakers: J. Tanner, D. Ramsay, W. Ponder, and others.
Admission Free.

WATCH FOR THE DATE OF TRIAL

in
Mr. Justice Younger's Court

(Chancery Division),

LAW COURTS, STRAND,

of
BARON VON HORST

(Hon. Member of the Dockers' Union),

Who will Personally Conduct His Own Defence.

IRISH INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATIONS.

The Irish Trade Union, which is attempting to combine all Irish workers in one great union, is said to be growing fast. Recently its membership was given as 85,000. The I.T.U. is associated with the Liberty Hall group, prominent amongst which are Cathal O'Shannon and Bill O'Brien. This group publishes *The Voice of Labour* and has captured the majority of the seats on the Irish Trade Union Congress executive. Wherever a branch of the I.T.U. exists there is an attempt also to form a branch of the Irish Citizen Army. At the time of the Rebellion the Citizen Army numbered 250 and the entire Rebel Army was only from 1,000 to 1,200. This is amazing.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

THE FIGHT AGAINST MILITARISM

(Continued from page 1199)

from neurasthenia." Her request was refused, but finally Percy Brooks was suddenly given seven days' leave, perhaps on account of his own mental state. He had been hunger striking, but abandoned his strike on hearing of his father's illness. Whilst at home Percy Brooks was examined by three medical men, all of whom took a serious view of his health. One of these, the examiner to the late Norwich Recruiting Board, said that a return to prison during the next three months would probably result either in phthisis or insanity. Miss Brooks is still trying to secure her brother's release.

Wife sees her husband die in prison.

Mrs. Wilkinson, on January 3rd, 1919, saw her husband die of bronchial pneumonia in Maidstone Prison. He told her he had suffered greatly from cold and had had practically no sleep since before Christmas. It was too cold to sit reading and in the effort to maintain his circulation he walked up and down the cell with his boots off all day long.

We are told that the prison doctor and hospital attendants were not present during Wilkinson's last hours, and a convict helped his wife to attend to him. Mrs. Wilkinson gave her husband oxygen till there was no more to give, after which his suffering greatly increased. When he died she fainted. The convict caught her as she fell. So do the poor and unfortunate help each other. Wilkinson was worrying at the last about Bridle, a fellow C.O. in prison, who was also ill. Bridle died next day, January 4th. Bridle had been a railwayman at Brighton, and about one hundred of his workmates and comrades in the N.U.R. attended his funeral.

A. A. Tippet, a member of the Boot and Shoe Operatives Union, who is now in Princetown, is overwhelmed with distress. His young wife has just died leaving a baby. His father went out of his mind through trouble and died, leaving the mother with heavy family burdens.

Suffering from delusions.

The conscientious objectors in prison are appealing for the release of one of their number whom they report to be suffering from delusions. The authorities are evidently aware of his condition for he has been in an observation cell for about two months.

John Diamond was discharged from Walton Gaol, Liverpool, in August, 1918, after a month's hunger strike and forcible feeding. He was very weak on discharge and remained under medical care till December 5th, when he was dragged from his bed "still very ill," and placed under arrest as a military absentee. His family have heard that he is in a military prison, but know nothing definite and are filled with anxiety.

O. H. and F. R. Mansfield used to help their father on his dairy farm of 200 acres at Brighton (60 to 80 cows). Now they are in Ipswich Prison. In November their father died; their mother cannot manage the farm. Their father had applied to the Board of Agriculture last August for the release of one or both his sons to help him, but the request was refused. And meanwhile there is a serious shortage of milk!

Work under the Home Office Scheme.

Work under the Home Office Scheme is punishment, not employment.

E. B. Ludlam, a Doctor of Science, was sent to Princetown to work under the scheme in March, 1918. With fifteen other men he dug a field for oats. The field was little more than an acre, the work occupied about three weeks; a man with a horse and plough, he says, could have completed the task in little more than a day. He spent five weeks in digging with others a huge field to prepare it for mangolds or cabbages. The soil was poor, much manure was applied. Dr. Ludlam estimated that the cost of turnips grown there would be 9d. each and that £1,000 was spent on the work which a

WORKSHOP NOTES.

YOUR HELP WANTED.

Will all shop stewards, and trade unionists in North London, surrounding districts, and suburbs, desirous to co-operate in forming North London Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee, kindly communicate with Albert J. Berrar, 69, Milson Road, W.14. A delegate conference will be convened for the purpose as soon as is practicable.

N.A.C. MEETING.

The National Administrative Council of the Workers' Committee met on Friday, Jan. 17th, at 7, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1. There were present A. MacManus (chairman), Geo. Peet (secretary), Geo. Taylor (Barrow), H. Shaw (Leeds), F. Dickie and W. F. Watson (London), E. Kelly (Liverpool), D. Ramsay (treasurer), J. T. Murphy (Sheffield), Tom Dingley (Coventry).

The Secretary reported that the National Cards were being printed and would be to hand in a few days. He described them to the meeting after which they were unanimously adopted. It was agreed to issue a propaganda leaflet with perforated appended slip for use of intending associate members. The question of press was discussed, when it was generally agreed that the N.A.C. consider the publishing of a paper and in the meantime the delegates should use all other papers. The financial statement showed £34 12s. 4d in hand and the L.W.C. undertook to audit the accounts.

farmer could have got done for £60. For three weeks he was employed with three other men trimming coal, which was dumped in a way that increased their labour. He offered to do the heaviest work at the gas works, stoking the retorts, because he thought by his knowledge of chemistry and his experience of gas works he could help, as he saw that all the ammonia from the gas was wasted, though sulphate of ammonia cost £20 a ton and the prison farm used it for manure. But he was not allowed to work at the gas works! A grammar school without a science master urgently appealed for his services but the Home Office Committee refused its sanction. Ludlam left Princetown as he considered the scheme "dishonest." He is now in Wandsworth Prison.

At Red Roses Camp, Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, Alec Peddieson, one of the conscientious objectors, was sick nurse to the others when influenza visited the camp. He appealed for trained nurses and improved diet for the invalids, but these were not given. Three of the inmates died, including Peddieson, who nursed the others until six days before his death, when he became delirious and continued so till the end. It is stated that in this camp of 32 men there were no sanitary facilities and water had to be carried over a quarter of a mile. There was one common room of 18 feet square and eight cubicles measuring 9½ by 7½ feet, and each containing four bunks. No this was not Ruhlleben!

On February 6th, 1918, a conscientious objector, S. H. W. Firth, died at Princetown of diabetes. His illness had been long and painful and his comrades had made many representations on his behalf. On the day of his funeral they abstained from work, and for this breach of the regulations, C. H. Norman and L. P. Hughes, the Chairman and Secretary of the Men's Committee, were sent back to prison. The other participants in the demonstration were also punished.

The conscientious objectors are fighting to abolish military and industrial conscription, to save men from being forced to fight against their will in capitalistic wars; to secure the release of the men who are now being held in the Army against their will. The C.O.s are suffering, too, to prevent the boys being trained as soldiers against their own wish and that of their parents. When the workers awake to the evils of conscription and capitalist militarism, the workers will end them, and so render unnecessary the sacrifices of the few who have the courage to stand alone in face of Government persecution. Till the masses come to their aid the conscientious objectors are carrying on their fight. But how long is it to continue?

The Chairman introduced a manuscript on the A.B.C. of economics written by a C.O. whilst in gaol, and after some discussion it was decided that the N.A.C. should publish it as a booklet. MacManus, Watson and Murphy were elected as a sub-committee to make necessary arrangements. It was agreed that should it be deemed necessary the N.A.C. shall be convened by wire.

W. F. WATSON.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA CONFERENCE AND MASS MEETING.

A full report of the above will be found on page 1201.

A big meeting is to be held at the Albert Hall on February 8th in connection with Russia, and tickets may be had from A. Inkpin, 21a, Maiden Lane, W.C. A mass meeting is also being organised for February 9th in Victoria Park. Similar meetings should be organised everywhere.

LONDON AND DISTRICT COUNCIL OF SHOP STEWARDS AND WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

At a meeting of the Executive held on Wednesday, January 15th, a resolution was adopted to the effect that we intimate to employers and workers that we have conclusive proof of the victimisation of active shop stewards, and that we warn the employers that unless this victimisation ceases further action will be taken.

Mr. Daniel Boyd of the Walthamstow No. 2 branch of the Amalgamated Toolmakers Society, and Mr. L. A. Davis of the same society desired to move the following amendment of the "Hands off Russia" Conference:—

DOMESTIC PROGRAMME.

1. All food prices to be reduced by 50 per cent.
2. Minimum of £1 per day for all adult workers.
3. Minimum of £5 per week to all disabled Service men.
4. Adequate unemployment pay. Terms to be decided by Conference.
5. Abolition of income tax on all earned incomes.
6. Inauguration of 40 hours working week for all.
7. Release of all political and Service prisoners.

FOREIGN POLICY.

1. Withdrawal of all Naval and Military Blockades.
2. No economic boycott to be used against any country.
3. Post Telegraphic and Press censorship to be taken off.

Mr. Boyd writes that before the luncheon interval, when the composite resolution drawn up by the Standing Orders Committee was submitted to the conference, he asked whether amendments to it could be moved. The Chairman replied in the affirmative. Mr. Boyd tells us that immediately after lunch he rose to move his amendment, but was ruled out of order, on the ground that the resolution itself was an amendment, though it had been expressly decided by the conference that the Standing Orders Committee draft should be accepted as the resolution before the conference. We ourselves have some recollection of confused discussion concerning Mr. Boyd's amendment. It seems obvious that he was entitled to move it and to have it voted upon. We regret that he did not press the point again at a later stage when the question might have been brought out more clearly. A misunderstanding occurred also in regard to another resolution, but, by means of a little persistence on the part of the mover, the matter was cleared up.

IN MEMORY OF OUR COMRADES,

KARL LIEBKNECHT

and

ROSA LUXEMBURG.

JANUARY 17TH, 1919.

Death to the dead for evermore

A king, a god, the last, the best of friends—
Where'er this mortal journey ends,
Death, like a host, comes smiling to the door;
Smiling he greets us, on that tranquil shore
Where neither piping bird nor peeping dawn
Disturbs the eternal sleep.
But in the stillness far withdrawn
Our dreamless rest for evermore we keep.

R. L. S.

SAVE YOUR WASTE PAPER FOR 'THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.'—The capitalist rags will help to print it. We will send you a sack if you apply to us for it. Send a postcard to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street, when you have a sack full

JAPANESE SOCIALISTS GREET BOLSHEVIKI.

Every one knows that since the Bolsheviks came into power in Russia in November, 1917, Bolshevism (which is really applied Socialism) has made wonderful advance all over Europe. Few people are aware, however, that the Socialist Revolution is beginning to stir the masses of Japan. The following letter and resolution from Japanese socialists, which appeared in the *Moscow Pravda*, and were reprinted in the *Petrograd Pravda* on October 1st, 1918, are of particular interest to European Socialists:—

The *Petrograd Pravda* says: "The Japanese Socialists are opposing this, the second Russo-Japanese war, just as they opposed the first."

"We all remember the energetic protest made by the Japanese Socialists when their Government started the war in Korea in 1905. We know that this protest was met by a whole series of unspeakably harsh persecution by the Japanese Government. During and immediately after the war the Japanese Government was careful not to foment discontent, but later on, Socialist and Radical societies and groups were dispersed. The reaction culminated in the so-called "Kotokussk" affair.... Since that period there has been lack of Socialist organisation in Japan.... Nevertheless, Socialism has not died out, for it is immortal. Small Socialist groups exist in various towns, for instance, in Tokio and Yokohama."

"The following letter, addressed to the Russian comrades, is the first joint effort of the Tokio and Yokohama groups. These groups are protesting against a Japanese military intervention in Siberia and have adopted the Bolshevik point of view."

"It is a matter of great joy to us that the Socialists of the most reactionary country in the world have come forward with a clear and definite statement of their views on the important problem of the world's revolution. We rejoice still more at the fact that in spite of the lying bourgeois press, the idea of Bolshevism has had such a strong influence on the Japanese workers."

"The Japanese workers are too weak at present to prevent the Japanese intervention in Siberia. Hundreds of Socialist publications have been burned in Japan in the course of the last four years, but during the same period hundreds of strikes have taken place. Some of these strikes have been suppressed by armed force and there have been many killed and wounded. The Mikado's mailed fist has fallen heavily upon the Japanese proletariat. We greet our Japanese comrades and are glad to receive this expression of their sympathy and goodwill."

TO OUR RUSSIAN COMRADES.

"From the very beginning of the Russian revolution we have followed your fearless activities with enthusiasm and admiration. Your doings have had an enormous influence on the psychology of our people. We are now indignantly protesting against the dispatch of Japanese troops to Siberia under any pretext, as such an act will inevitably impede the free development of your revolution. We are grieved that we are too weak to avert the peril with which you are threatened by our imperialistic Government. We are unable to help you in any way as we are persecuted by the Government. But rest assured that the red flag of the revolution will in no distant future float over the whole of Japan. We enclose a copy of a

resolution adopted at our meeting. May 1st, 1917, "With revolutionary greetings, "The Executive Committee of the Socialist Groups of Tokio and Yokohama."

RESOLUTION OF THE JAPANESE SOCIALISTS.

"We, the Socialists of Japan having met in Tokio on the 1st of May, 1917, express our deep sympathy with the Russian Revolution to which we do homage. We recognise that the Russian Revolution is on the one hand a political revolution of the bourgeoisie against a mediæval absolutism, and on the other hand a revolution of the proletariat against present-day capitalism. The transformation of the Russian Revolution into a world social revolution concerns not Russian Socialists only, but the Socialists of the whole world. The capitalistic order has in all the countries of the world reached its highest development and we have now a period of a full-blown capitalistic imperialism. Unless they wish to be deceived by the ideologists of imperialism, the Socialists of all countries must hold steadfastly to the international standpoint, and all the forces of the international proletariat must be directed against our common enemy—international capitalism. Thus only will the workers be able to fulfil their historic mission. The Socialists of Russia and all countries must do their utmost to stop the war in order to help the workers of the belligerent countries to direct their attacks, not against their fellow workers, but against the ruling classes of their own countries. We have faith in the heroism of the Russian Socialists and of our comrades throughout the world. We are firmly convinced that the revolutionary spirit will spread and permeate all the countries."

"Executive Comm. Socialist Group of Tokio."

OUTSIDE WANDSWORTH PRISON: An Open-air Experiment.

BY CLARA GILBERT COLE.

After trying every constitutional method to obtain the release of the conscientious objector and hearing that many were hunger-striking upon already empty stomachs and with debilitated frames, and fearing that if every man had to hunger strike before being released there would not be many to come out alive, or if alive it would be with impaired constitutions, I decided to try a protest outside the prison walls, and bring home to those people who have not sufficient imagination to realise it, the meaning of conscientious objection and all it entails.

I therefore began a parade outside Wandsworth Prison on Monday last, displaying a placard with the words "We protest against the persecution and imprisonment of conscientious objectors to war," and distributing leaflets printed with the words of Lord Roberts and Capt. Gwynn on the injustice of punishing conscience. This I have continued each day without a break from about 11 A.M. to 4 P.M. I shall never regret this work, even if I do not secure the release of one C.O., for the propaganda against war I have had the chance to do has been well worth the effort.

At first I took up my stand against the walls of the prison, but the head warden came out and courteously informed me that the courtyard in front was their especial property, and remarked that the roadway was just below.

I made a rule never to speak to any one until they spoke to me, and though more than once I had as many as 18 soldiers all seemingly hostile, I have never refused to answer a question or return argument for argument. On the other hand I have had the same number listen in respectful silence to my explanations of the C.O.'s position and sincerity.

This last happened early in the week when an escort after pacing up and down from the door to the road and meeting me as I walked across the front of the prison, finally glancing questioningly at me, burst forth with "Mother! Have you a son in there?" There was a little lump in my throat as I replied, "You are all my sons, I do it for you, too," and then for ten minutes amid absolute silence I held a peace meeting, for all the others clustered round. Feeling curious as to whether he agreed or not I ventured to put a test question to the first speaker, a young man about 23, "Would he like to bear a baby for war?" With no hesitation, but great excitement, he exclaimed—"I'd drown it first!"

The sergeants who give "punishment drill" to

the poor soldiers who have fought for their country, but who are now in prison, for overstaying leave or some other trifling offence, are less sympathetic than the escorts and the men who have been to the front.

I have been told a hundred times that the C.O. ought to be shot and now when the usual introduction to the subject commences, "Do you know what I'd do to them," I reply in a weary voice, "Yes, I know, don't please repeat it! I've heard it many times! I'm a C.O. myself, bring your gun; I'll wait here and you can shoot me." Some reply that they wouldn't shoot a woman, while others say: "Yes, I'd shoot you, too." Then I remember that if everyone were in agreement with me the C.O. would not be in prison and there would be no need for me to be there, so I continue my slow and limited walk, and am very often drilled by the warders or soldiers as the right about turn is reached.

One day the escort of Canadians sent to bring a soldier from prison included a black man. If this had happened in Germany!

A touching incident occurred on Friday when two lads of 16 or 17 who were waiting outside the prison for over an hour, continually shouted abuse and called me vile names. Four small children just out of school stood a few yards off, saying, "Don't you cheek her!" I thanked them, but assured them I did not mind. After an encounter with a hostile group, as a young Canadian airman was going away, he stretched out his hand and said: "I do admire your bravery." Having been on more than one occasion, subjected to sarcastic compliments, I asked, "Do you really mean it?" The answer came quickly: "I do, indeed I do." Another Canadian, not in agreement with my anti-war views, told me a long story of a C.O. he had known in Canada whom he had "handled" in his military capacity, saying, "He was such a perfect gentleman, well educated, but nothing could make him obey orders, yet he was never disrespectful." The case had specially interested him for he found that, though stationed miles away, the C.O. had come from his own town and they had much in common. The influence of the C.O.'s position is found in many and unexpected places. During one of the arguments on war and atrocities, I told a group of my opponents that we were the first to throw bombs from the air, one young soldier who did not seem to possess a humanitarian side to his nature, said: "Yes, I know it and we were the last." "What an honour!" was all I could say. How effectively the capitalist

press has done its evil work has been more than ever brought home to me in these late experiences. The soldiers, the men, women and even the children never express their hatred of the enemy or the C.O. except in the phrases of the newspapers, their sneers and taunts are the headlines they cull from their only literature, if one can apply such a term to the foul stuff.

On Friday afternoon as two well-dressed men of the interesting military age of 40 to 45 were passing a soldier called out to them "Spit on her banner!" and one of these English gentlemen replied, "I should like to"; a specimen of that English chivalry we hear so much about. On the other hand a man who passes in a trap each day, says: "Good morning," and once stopped his horse to enquire "Are you cold, Mother?" A dear little maid of 14 comes every day to ask how I get on, hopes "I'll stick it," and keeps me company for half an hour. One old lady with a sweet face said she was glad I had the grace to stand. It was a day when there was a rainbow across the sky and a thrush sang in the bushes. Literally I felt the blood course quicker and I was warmed. Ex-Inspector Syme exchanged views with me on one occasion for 40 minutes and brightened a dull day.

Another time I had the pleasure of seeing H. Runham Brown, released on failing health, that fact was plain after one glance at his face. Needless to say I did not detain him beyond a handshake. One C.O. who was entering for a repeated term raised his cap, and I shouted among plenty of khaki, "Stick it, Comrade, someone must object." The light that is kindled never again to be put out flashed forth from his face, and his wife who kept up till the door was closed, turned weeping away with a "Thank you," and I hadn't the heart to worry her for her name.

The young girls, soldiers' wives, with tiny babies, decked in the latest finery, showing the pride of motherhood, continually enter that small but strong door (it is as hard to get into a prison as to get out). They emerge shaking with sobs and stagger up the road, often saying: "Oh, its cruel, cruel; after he's been out and done his bit, too." One may guess from this how the men in there who have fought for their country (so they think) are treated. More than one weeping relative have I comforted and they have granted at last that our cause is theirs and in grief we are united. A mother and daughter, apparently munition workers, carefully read my

Continued on back page

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24th.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JANUARY 25th.
Great Push, Cobden's Statue.—Meet at 3 P.M.
Speakers Mrs. Butler, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 26th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Salmon and Ball.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Grove, Hammersmith.—11.45 A.M., John Syme.
TUESDAY, JANUARY 28th.
Clock Tower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, JANUARY 31st.
Tower Hill.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1st
Great Push in Holloway.

INDOOR.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 26th.
400, Old Ford Road.—7 P.M., Miss Ph. Rickards,
'The Fight over 40 D.'; Mr. E. G. Smith,
'A Democratic Peace.' Chair: Miss N. Smyth. Discussion.
MONDAY, JANUARY 27th.
44, Malden Road (St. Pancras W.S.F.).—
2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

OUTSIDE WANDSWORTH PRISON.

Continued from page 1203.

placard before entering the prison. On their return they came out and asked me if I thought their man would get out before his time was up. Then they said they had told him about me, and that he had sent word out by them that he was going to be a C.O. and that they were to be sure to tell me and remember him to me. As we talked, up came two other women who began abusing me in very strong language. My new friends retaliated on my behalf, the elder woman saying she had four sons at the front and one had the D.S.O. I had ~~decided~~ to make the peace. I have the address of these kindly friends and of another poor soul who came to be comforted and to speak nicely to me. We agreed it was a war of Riches versus Poverty. The very nice policemen who say good morning, and accept my papers so pleasantly must take my praise for granted without further description.

One lad greets me each day with: "She's got bats in her attic." and a young snob of 14, in cap which betokens one of the superior schools, passed me hesitatingly for four days and then said: "I wouldn't stand there doing that for those cowards," quite unconscious of his own cowardice in taking four days to muster up his courage to insult a woman who held opinions different from his own. One youthful soldier in a passion of hatred said he would kill every German he could lay his hands on. "There are plenty in Wandsworth," I said: "get your gun and do it." You will find that "same policeman over there will arrest you for killing even one German on your own initiative, as he would arrest you for refusing if you were a C.O. You may kill a hundred by order of your capitalist masters, but try one on your own and you'll be hanged for it." The principal taunt thrown at me is the question, "Where would you have been if we hadn't defended you?" My reply is: "No man fights in my name, or 'That's what they say in Germany,' in every country in fact, 'Don't talk of defending women and children when there are now more widows and orphans in the world through war than ever there were before!' and strange as it may sound the soldiers do not seem to have much admiration for the women they have defended and who made no protest at the soldier being pushed in front of them.

The tastefully attired women with well-groomed babies who turn away and sneer: "The idea!" never realise that if there are no conscientious objectors there is nothing in the future to save their babes from the horrors of war. The woman who passes daily and says: "They should have fought for us and then they wouldn't have to suffer" is oblivious of the fact that those prison doors open far oftener to receive the men who have fought, than for the men who have rebelled and protested. What our dear lads have suffered physically and mentally is the thought that constantly obsesses me.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—2.30 P.M., Miss Horsfall.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Irene per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £4; Miss Gertrude A. Barham, 10s. 6d.; G. T. Jones (Fair), 5s.; Mr. H. P. Burgess, 2s. 6d.; Miss Birch, 2s.; Mrs. Ennis Richmond, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Poplar W.S.F., 3s.; General Meeting, 18s. 7d.

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. M. M. Weigall, £10; per Miss Anna Udny (monthly), £3 4s. 7d.; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; Mrs. Boswell, £2; per Miss J. E. Weir (monthly), £1 5s.; Mrs. Richmond (10s. fortnightly), £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Miss Burgis (sale of clothes), 10s.; Mrs. Usherwood, 6s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly) 5s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Dr. Johnson, 5s.; Mrs. Hargraves, 5s.; Anon., 3s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Miss Clara Symonds (quarterly), 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 19s. 0½d.; L.S.A. Toolroom, 15s. 9d.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

A PUBLIC MEETING

Will be held at
400 OLD FORD ROAD,
On SUNDAY JANUARY 26th, 7 p.m.
Speakers:—MISS PH. RICKARDS, "The Fight Over 40D."
MR. E. G. SMITH, "A Democratic Peace."
Chair:—MISS N. SMYTH.
Discussion. Admission Free.

WORKERS' GAINING CONTROL OF GERMAN INDUSTRIES.

In Germany the workers are spontaneously demanding and securing control of industry. An employer of labour whose letter from Berlin appeared in *The Times*, December 14th, says:—

"I employ 700 persons who quite recently held a meeting at which I was not permitted to be present. A deputation consisting of 15 of these employees appeared on Sunday, December 1st, and told me that a complete change in dividing profits must take place. They gave me two letters, one from my higher employees, clerks and others, the other from the packers and porters and the like. I had been already superficially instructed concerning the contents of these letters, and consequently put them in my pocket, saying that I reserved my reply. Thereupon cries were raised: 'Answer in three days. Read immediately.' I answered that I presumed the examination of these demands would take some time, whereupon I was informed that a committee had already been appointed to undertake this inquiry with me. The chief of this committee is the second book-keeper, who, as one of the deputation called out to me, would take great care to do the work well, 'because he is against the firm.' This man had already betrayed all the figures accessible to him. . . . By this procedure Socialisation will be effected in individual undertakings by their usual employees. . . . It is like an insidious disease, which confronts every individual person with the gravest decisions, whether to yield, to make compromises, or to risk a strike. In the last case, the employer would, perhaps, find the strike-breakers at once, but the great danger is that he would be obliged to maintain his business on the pretext that it must be kept going in the interests of the State. In this case, it runs the risk of being 'taken over' by the Workers' Council, or even by the State."

BELGIUM'S POUND OF FLESH.

Little Belgium, or rather her Government, is demanding not merely an indemnity from Germany, but the neutral Duchy of Luxemburg, and from neutral Holland Zimburg and the territory on the left bank of the Scheldt. Belgium claims to have possessed this territory prior to 1839. She wants a complete revision of the Treaties of 1815 and 1839. There is always a treaty somewhere—but, what is more important, Belgium desires these territories. Some Belgians want Zeeland, Flanders, and the Maastricht Enclave.

THE LEAGUE OF RIGHTS FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS WIVES AND RELATIVES.—Full particulars from Miss Gilbertson, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

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Mrs. Litvineff, 11, Bigwood Road, N.W.4, requires TWO FURNISHED ROOMS for herself and two babies; London or suburbs.

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SOCIALISTS OF CROYDON, Your First New Year's Resolution for 1919 should be to send 2/- (½d. stamps) for 24 weeks prepaid subscription to Croydon's Own Socialist Weekly, THE EPISTLE. Offices, 112 Woodville Road, Thornton Heath.

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Chair—SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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(1 min. St. James' Park und. and Victoria St)

Discussion Invited. Come and bring your friends. Admission free.

BOLSHEVISM IN TURKEY.

The *Isvestia* (Bolshevik organ) some time ago reported the spread of Socialism in Mahomedan Turkestan, hitherto a pawn of rival Chauvinist contestants. The District Soviet of the Mahomedan Trades Unions in Tashkent unites 200,000 Turkestan workers, and the Soviet Government has opened a Mahomedan People's University and twenty-four Turkish centres of learning. Socialist papers appear in the Turkish language, and out of 36 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic there, eleven are Mahomedans.

W.S.F. SOCIAL WORK.—The Mothers' Arms Day Nursery, 438, Old Ford Road, E. Cost Price Restaurant, &c., 20, Railway Street, Poplar. Parcels to Miss Lucy Burgis, 400, Old Ford Road; donations to N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—New members welcomed, funds urgently needed. Donations will be gratefully received by Norah Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E. If there is no W.S.F. branch in your district take the initiative in forming one.

'THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.'—Donations to THE DREADNOUGHT Development Fund are urgently needed, and should be addressed to Sylvia Pankhurst, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E. Help us to extend the influence of the paper.

AGENTS WANTED FOR THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.—Are you a regular reader of the paper? Do you sell it at the meetings of your organisation? Introduce it to your workshop.

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